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negro vote of the North to yours and mine in the South.

And, if they won't do that, we, you—organized this time—must demand that our political leaders be leaders. We must demand that those 100 Senators and Representatives implement their words, and lead us by deeds in our fight for Constitutional Government.

"POSTLUDE"

Most of what I have written was written in April of 1956. Most of the Southern States tried it "one more time"—the two-thirds rule was not restored. Nevertheless, Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Mississippi, North Carolina, and South Carolina, stuck to the Democratic party—Florida, Kentucky, Louisiana, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia voted for the Republican ticket.

Today (March 20, 1957), we see a Republican Attorney General and the Republican party, joined by leading Democratic Representatives from New York, and New Jersey, and Michigan and Pennsylvania and Illinois and other states trying to force through the Congress that vicious piece of legislation pending under the name of a Civil Rights bill—this bill would wipe out one of the foremost "civil rights" of all—the right to trial by jury—

We see Democratic Senators joining in that effort.

Staunchly, intelligently, courageously are most of our Southern Senators and Representatives battling against this pernicious legislation.

How long are we Southerners going to continue resisting the assaults of the Republican party and the Democratic party every day of every four years, except one day and then supporting one of the other of those two parties on that day every four years which is election day?

"Southern Pride" used to be a tradition. What has become of it?

When will we of the South regain our pride, stand up in our might and righteousness, and say to both the Republican party and the Democratic party—"a plague on both your houses"?

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States' Rights Council of Georgia, Inc.
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**The
Need
for
States
Rights
Councils
and
Citizens
Councils**

by
Charles J.
Bloch

Prepared for delivery in
Birmingham, Alabama
April 14, 1956

THE NEED FOR STATES RIGHTS' COUNCILS,

AND CITIZENS COUNCILS

(Prepared for delivery in Birmingham, Alabama,

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By CHARLES J. BLOCH

I am here tonight to speak to you from the point of view of one born in the South, reared in the South, and all of my life residing in the South.

I am here to give you facts, and from those facts to determine what we shall do.

Facts are what you should know, facts are what I will try to give you.

"Happy is he who is able to know the reason for things."

What are the reasons for the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States which have thrown the South, nay, the whole nation into chaos and confusion—which threaten even greater chaos and confusion?

One hundred and eighty years ago your State of Alabama was a part of Georgia. You are still our brothers. Your ways and customs are ours. Our traditions are yours. We think alike.

One hundred and eighty years ago, our State of Georgia tired of the tyranny of a king—George III of Great Britain.

In the Declaration of Independence of 1776, our State, then a "colony," along with 12 others, declared that we would throw off the yoke of tyranny which pinned us down—the tyranny of a monarch.

And, we know today that Tyranny is Tyranny—whether it be the tyranny of a George III or that of a Czar, of a Hitler, of a Kaiser, of a Napoleon, or of a Judicial Oligarchy. It has the same effect on the lives of men, women and children.

Constitutional government cannot live in the same climate with tyranny.

After the Declaration of Independence, we fought for seven long years before Cornwallis surrendered at Yorktown, Virginia.

Then those thirteen original States formed the United States of America. Their partnership contract was and is known as the Constitution of the United States. At that time African slavery was a recognized institution. The Constitution of the United States distinctly recognized it as legal. It was not peculiar to the South. There were more slaves in the South than in the North because the colored people were accustomed to a warm, a hot climate. They lived better here. They were more attuned to the farms of the South, than the industry of the North. But, I repeat, slavery was not peculiar to the South. New York did not abolish it until just a few years

before the War between the States. The Northern states encouraged the slave trade. Their citizens owned the ships which brought those captured human beings to these shores as slaves. Their citizens sold them into captivity. The trade was a profitable one for our Northern friends.

They made sure that Congress would not and could not abolish that slave trade. They placed a provision in the Constitution that that trade could not be abolished until 1808. The institution of slavery was recognized four separate times in the Constitution as being legal.

Despite that fact, immediately after the slave trade ended, Northern abolitionists began tirades against the South. They culminated in John Brown's raid, his hanging, Lincoln's election, and the secession of the Southern States.

When South Carolina seceded, Confederate troops under General P. T. G. Beauregard were stationed at Charleston. Beauregard was born and reared in Louisiana. He was a graduate of West Point. When the North attempted to reprovise Fort Sumter in Charleston Harbor, troops under Beauregard fired on it and took it. The war was on. Three months later he led the Confederates to glorious victory at Manassas, Virginia, just 30 miles out of Washington. He served the South unselfishly and courageously throughout the War. Beauregard was a Catholic.

When Georgia and Alabama seceded, John Brown Gordon was living in Jackson County, Alabama. He was a native Georgian. Immediately he raised a company of soldiers and went to the front. In almost every battle of the War, John Brown Gordon—General John B. Gordon—fought with the courage and tenacity of a lion. Wounded several times, he survived to become Governor of Georgia, and United States Senator from Georgia. General Gordon was the son of a Baptist minister whose name is still revered in Georgia.

One of Louisiana's representatives in the Senate of the United States was Judah P. Benjamin. When Louisiana seceded, he resigned from the Senate. He walked out—leaving ringing in the ears of the Senate a speech of defiance. He was at President Jefferson Davis' side throughout the four years of war—as Secretary of War; Secretary of State; Attorney General. He was of the Jewish faith.

And typical of the many Southern Americans of the Jewish faith who answered the South's call to arms were Raphael Moses of Columbus, Georgia, and his three sons. Moses filled the difficult post of Commissary General of the Confederates in the hard latter years of the War.

Another young man who was educated at the

United States Military Academy at West Point later became an Episcopal priest and Bishop of Louisiana. When the South seceded he joined its fighting forces. He became a Major General in the Confederate Army. He was killed in 1864 by Sherman's forces at Pine Mountain, Georgia. This Southern General, devout Protestant Episcopal Bishop, was General Leonidas Polk.

At the outbreak of the war, Virginia Military Institute had a professor, Thomas Jonathan Jackson—so he was christened in the Presbyterian church. At First Manassas, General Bee, rallying his troops, shouted: "There stands Jackson like a stone wall." And so, changed the name of Thomas Jonathan into the immortal "Stonewall" Jackson. At Chancellorsville, two years later, he was mortally wounded. Murmuring "Let us cross the river and rest in the shade of the trees," this devout Christian soldier passed into eternity.

"Forth from its scabbard, pure and bright,
Flashed the sword of Lee!
Far in front of the deadly fight,
High over the brave in the Cause of Right,
Its stainless sheen, like a beacon light
Led us to victory."

Robert E. Lee—the hero of our youth—to whom "duty was the most sublime word in the English language"—was the South's Washington without Washington's reward—the symbol of the South, and the cause for which it bled and died.

The cause since Appomattox has been spoken of and written of as "The Lost Cause."

So long as a man or woman lives in the South who believes in Constitutional government, the cause for which those men fought is not lost. It lives—and will live forever—so long as we have the courage to strive for the return of Constitutional government to this land of ours.

I mention Beauregard and Benjamin and Moses; Gordon and Polk; Jackson and Lee, as symbols—symbols of a Southern people who—100 years ago—of all religious creeds united in word and deed to defend the Constitutional rights of the South.

So—today—the cause we espouse is not to be espoused by those of any one creed—but by all—Protestant, Catholic, Jew—all—regardless of creed, who are determined that Constitutional government shall not perish in this nation; who know that the South is—and who are determined that it shall remain—the bulwark of Constitutional government—the hope of salvation for the United States of America.

Catholic—Protestant—Jew—all Southerners—united one hundred years ago in defense of what

they thought to be right. They knew that the cause for which they fought violated no commandment or creed, no religious principle. They knew that unless the cause for which they fought survived, religion itself, the unfettered right to worship, would die. For without sound Constitutional government, there can be no freedom of worship—or freedom of any other kind.

We are not faced merely with the question of whether white children shall sit with negro children in schools.

We are faced with the question of whether we shall sit idly by and let our rights to live under the law be whittled away—one by one.

Today it is our right under the Constitution to manage our internal affairs—our right as Georgians, Alabamians or Vermonters or residents of Michigan to regulate those local matters as the customs, habits and traditions of our respective States require.

If we do not gain that fight—tomorrow your children will be fighting for their right to worship, speak and write under that same Constitution.

After Appomattox, the prostrate South came under the yoke.

The so-called War Amendments were thrust upon them. One of them—the 14th—provided that no State should deny to any citizen the “equal protection of the law.” Mark that phrase well. It is the bludgeon with which Constitutional government will be smashed unless the South prevents that catastrophe.

Two other amendments were passed, one of which abolished slavery—another gave the negro the right to vote. Both were passed by Republican Congresses, and forced upon the South by a Republican party in power. Several years earlier a Republican President, Lincoln, had “freed the slaves”—or sought to do so in his Emancipation Proclamation.

So, the negro looked upon the Republican party as his liberator. Whatever voting he did was for his benefactor, the Republican party.

The Democratic party was the party of the South. Since its foundation, its rules had required that no person could be nominated for the Presidency without a vote of two-thirds of the delegates. The South with about one-fourth of the delegates had a veto power. It might not nominate a candidate. But no candidate unacceptable to it could be named.

It was under this system that—even since the War—Grover Cleveland, and Woodrow Wilson and Franklin Roosevelt, for his first term, were elected.

Three times, at least, questions of Segregation came before the Supreme Court between 1896 and 1927 with the Fourteenth amendment reading just as

it read when it was adopted, and just as it read on May 17, 1954.

Three times, the Supreme Court refused to interfere with the States’ Rights under the 10th amendment to the Constitution. Despite the Fourteenth amendment, three times at least did the Supreme Court hold that “equal” did not mean “same.”

And times without number, State Courts of last resort, in the North and in the South, decided the same thing.

On this foundation of legal authority, the South laid its plans, and as it recovered from the ravages of War, built up separate but equal school systems. Relying upon more than 60 years of uniform construction of the Constitution, the South incurred debts and planned for the future.

With one stroke of the pen, on May 17, 1954, these precedents which we had thought to be binding and a part of the Constitution, sworn to be upheld, were swept aside.

What caused that drastic change?

Let us see.

All of us can now see what some of us foretold many years ago.

The jig-saw puzzle is now complete. It forms the picture of a government not contemplated by the Constitution. It forms the picture—not of a Union of 48 sovereign states operating under a written Constitution—but of a giant bureaucracy spreading its myriads of tentacles into every nook and corner of the nation—an octopus which even our Benjamin Harvey Hill in his dreads could never have imagined.

In the 1920’s there were crop failures in the South. There was industrial development in the North and East. In the 1920’s and early 1930’s thousands of negroes migrated from the South to the North and East. They formed teeming masses in Harlem, Detroit, Chicago and Philadelphia. So they became a potential source of voting strength, a source which under political management could control the vote of the vital states of New York, Illinois, Pennsylvania, and Michigan. Those four states, alone, have 124 electoral votes out of a total of 531. (Note—Since this was written, the election of 1956 has been held. All four of these states “went Republican.”)

In 1932, Franklin D. Roosevelt, nominated by the votes of the South, rode into office as President of the United States on the back of a financial panic which had thrown the nation into the depths of depression. John Garner of Texas was his Vice-President.

The Democrats, thanks to the South, were back in power after many years. They were back, yes.

The question was: How were they to stay in power? They stayed in power by deliberately sacrificing the South for the negro vote of New York and Philadelphia and Chicago and Detroit. It was a campaign as deliberately and coldbloodedly planned as any campaign of Napoleon or any other leader. It is a campaign still being deliberately and cold-bloodedly planned and waged. It is a campaign which will stifle and crush the South, unless we arouse ourselves, and unify to fight it—to defend ourselves against the onslaughts of the NAACP—the National Association for the Advancement of Certain Politicians—the Americans for Democratic Action, and their allied organizations.

Why is it that some people think—and write—that it is all right for that NAACP—and the A.D.A. and their kindred groups to organize—but that it is all wrong, irreligious, un-Christianlike, un-God-like, for us, Southern white people—to organize and unify so as to defend ourselves against their onslaughts?

Why have not Marvin Griffin—and Herman Talmadge—and Eugene Cook, as much right to organize Southern white people in defense of what they know are their constitutional rights, as have Thurgood Marshall, and Roy Wilkins, and Mitchell, to seek what they think are those of their people?

Has it come to pass in this land of ours a Southern white man can no longer speak out for what he thinks is right?

If it has, God save the United States.

I have digressed. The Democrats wanted to stay in power. The National Democratic party knew it had the votes of the South—the white South—a South which still seethed over the War and the Reconstruction which the Republican party had forced on it. Its problem was to get that negro vote which had migrated to those pivotal Northern states. First, it had to strip the South of its most powerful political weapon. That it did at the 1936 Democratic Convention. The South fought that battle, within the party and was quickly annihilated. The two-thirds rule was repealed.

During that administration, President Roosevelt became disgusted because the Justices of the Supreme Court of that day interpreted the Constitution according to established legal precedents and would not "cooperate" by stretching the Constitution to uphold his ideas of government. He attempted the "court-packing" plan. Congress killed it. He lost that battle but won the war. For, before his death, he was to appoint five of the Justices who were sitting on May 17, 1954. (Justices Frankfurter, Jackson, Black, Reed and Douglas.)

In 1940, your state and mine fought within the

party for the nomination as Vice-President of a distinguished Alabamian. He was defeated. Henry Wallace became the nominee and the Vice-President.

Four years later, we, fighting within the party, saw Justice Byrnes cast aside by the Northern and Eastern Democrats for the Vice-Presidency, and, still fighting within the party, we were faced with a choice between Mr. Wallace and Mr. Truman. Mr. Truman was nominated, elected, and upon the death of Mr. Roosevelt, succeeded to the Presidency.

By that time, without a word in the Fourteenth Amendment having been changed and without a word in the state primary law having been changed, the Court in 1944 reversed a 1935 decision, and by judicial decree wiped out the White Primary system.

Early in 1948, election year, President Truman proposed to Congress a Civil Rights program. The National Democratic Party knew that it sorely needed that negro vote if it were to remain in power. But, thanks to courageous Southern Senators and Representatives, not one of Mr. Truman's civil rights proposals was enacted into law.

Later that year, still fighting within the party, at the Philadelphia Convention, we saw a drastic civil rights program forced into the platform of what had been our party. Your delegation, most of it, and that of Mississippi, walked out of the Convention Hall.

Still fighting within the party, the other Southern states backed Georgia's Richard Russell for the nomination. Again we were whipped. That fall, Alabama and Mississippi were joined by Louisiana and South Carolina in support of the States Rights ticket. The other Southern states stayed with the party! They helped elect Mr. Truman President. In so doing, the South perhaps lost the best opportunity it ever had to wield its balance of power in a Presidential election.

By the time 1952 rolled around, President Truman had appointed three of the Justices who were sitting on the Court on May 17, 1954. (Justices Burton, Minton, Clark.) So of the nine, Democratic Presidents had appointed eight.

And those eight along with Chief Justice Vinson, now deceased, had uprooted old precedents, and required the admission of a colored person to the University of Texas law school. He was entitled, the Court said, under the 14th Amendment to associate with white students and no state could deprive him of that association.

So, the Court began to do what Congress had not done—by judicial decree to enforce the Civil Rights program of the National Democratic party—in col-

lege cases, in transportation cases, and in voting law cases.

I need not dwell upon the 1954 decision. You know the "chaos and confusion" it has caused.

In that chaos and confusion—in that crisis—all Southerners of all religious creeds, should join with one another!

Not in hatred or prejudice;

Not with any thought of secession;

Not for any quarrel or bitterness with the colored citizens of the South;

But—to demonstrate:

(1) That the Supreme Court's decisions in the school segregation cases are constitutionally wrong—clear abuses of judicial power;

(2) That these decisions climax a trend in the Federal Judiciary undertaking to legislate, in derogation of the authority of Congress, and to encroach upon the rights of the States and the people;

(3) That the unwarranted exercise of power by the Court is creating chaos and confusion in the South, is destroying the friendly relations between the white and negro races created by 90 years of patient effort by good people of both races, has planted hatred and suspicion where there had been friendship, understanding, and mutual desire for progress;

(4) That the Democratic party, and the Republican party are using the people of the South, white and colored, merely as pawns in a game for political power.

And, we should so join, to pledge:

(1) To use all lawful means to bring about a reversal of these decisions which are contrary to the Constitution, and to prevent the use of force in their implementation;

I said—I emphasized, "lawful means." It is not in my province—it might be presumptuous for me—your invited guest—to discuss the incident which occurred here last Tuesday night. That discussion is the province of your local leaders. Because such incidents affect us all over the South, I do say that they do nothing to help the South in trying to solve our problems. They only give to those extremists all over the nation further excuses for agitation against us.

(2) In so doing to try to show, patiently and peacefully, to the good colored people of the South that they, and we, are being made the victims of the selfish political aims of certain Senators, Representatives and Governors.

It is your duty, and mine, as citizens of these Southern States, to find a cure for the tension, the

confusion, which have been intentionally thrust into our midst.

No matter how strong and talented any one of us may be individually, he or she can not singly perform that duty.

Only an organization or confederation of individuals so dedicated, can perform those sacred, solemn duties of salvation of our States.

The chaos and confusion has been caused by organizations which are festering sores on the body of the nation such as the N.A.A.C.P. and the Americans for Democratic Action. The cure can be brought about only by counteracting organizations which will prescribe and administer the antidote for the poisons which have been spread.

These organizations—N.A.A.C.P.—A.D.A.—and all the others like them—fear above all things, counteracting, opposing organizations. They know the weakness of the South has been its lack of organization—its disorganization. I heard one of their leaders say so in Chicago in 1952. He said, "So far, we have been able to prevent the white people of the South from organizing; if they ever find leaders and get together and organize, we are done for. So, we must (they said) accomplish our purposes before they do organize."

That, my friends, is why some periodicals and newspapers, friendly to the N.A.A.C.P. and the A.D.A. and like organizations, rant and rave against Citizens Councils and States Rights' Councils. They don't want us to organize. When we do, they try to disorganize us by creating dissensions in our midst.

That is why every four years the bait of the Vice Presidency is dangled before the eyes of one or two Southerners.

That is why certain newspaper columnists devote reams of newsprint trying to prevent the formation of a Southern political party with outstanding leadership—they know that once that party is formed, the balance of power in this nation will shift from the negro voters of Harlem and Chicago and Philadelphia and Detroit to the states of the South.

That is why those same editors constantly preach, "Settle your differences within the party." We have tried that road for 20 long years. Let's try it one more time. Let's say to the Democrats of the North and East and West, "Party unity is not a one way street." If you want us in the Democratic party, restore the two-thirds rule! Show that you respect the South and want the South in the party by restoring the two-thirds rule!

If they won't do that, my friends, it is a clear indication, if you need one, that they prefer the